

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 089720  
ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON  
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY  
AF:WESCHAUFELER, JR.  
S/S:FWISNER  
S/P:ALAKE (DRAFT)  
VICE PRESIDENT OFFICE-KATZEN(DRAFT)  
-----210346Z 036545 /70  
O 210203Z APR 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 089720

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: REPLY TO FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN ON RHODESIA

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY  
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN:

2. BEGIN TEXT:

A. QUOTE DEAR DAVID:

B. "AS RON SPIERS HAS ALREADY TOLD YOU, I AM MOST  
APPRECIATIVE FOR THE MESSAGE YOU SENT DURING THE BUSY LAST  
DAYS OF YOUR AFRICAN TOUR AND FOR THE FULL SET OF RECORDS  
OF YOUR MEETINGS ON RHODESIA. YOU ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL  
IN A SHORT TIME.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 089720

C. "WE CONTINUE TO STAND FIRMLY WITH YOU IN THIS ENDEAVOR  
AND AGREE THAT WE SHOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO DETERMINE NEXT  
STEPS, ALTHOUGH I WOULD ASK YOU TO MAKE NO ANNOUNCEMENT,  
CERTAINLY ABOUT AN AMERICAN ROLE, UNTIL WE HAVE HAD AN  
OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH YOU SOME BASIC QUESTIONS THAT WE  
HAVE. ACCORDINGLY, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO

ARRANGE WORKING LEVEL CONSULTATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE OUR OWN MEETING, PROPOSED FOR MAY 6.

D. "PERHAPS IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO OUTLINE HERE SOME OF THE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM THAT WE BELIEVE NEED TO BE EXAMINED.

E. "ONE OF THE POINTS TO BE CONSIDERED BEFORE PROCEEDING WITH THE CALL FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IS HOW TO DEAL WITH THE RESERVATIONS SOME OF THE PARTIES HAVE EXPRESSED TO THE IDEA OF DIRECT U.S. PARTICIPATION. MUGABE HAS BEEN QUITE NEGATIVE ABOUT THIS FROM THE OUTSET AND HAS BEEN JOINED RECENTLY BY NKOMO IN EXPRESSING DEFINITE OPPOSITION TO U.S. CO-SPONSORSHIP. NYERERE HAS ALSO QUESTIONED THE IDEA, ALTHOUGH SMITH APPARENTLY REGARDS IT AS AN IMPORTANT DRAWING CARD. CONCEIVABLY, THE NEGATIVE VIEWPOINTS CAN BE OVERCOME THROUGH ADDITIONAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS OR SIMPLY BY THE ATTRACTION A CONFERENCE SHOULD HAVE FOR THEM, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS POINT CAN BE IGNORED LEST IT PREJUDICE THE NATIONALISTS' ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONFERENCE IDEA.

F. "ALSO, BEFORE ANNOUNCING A CONFERENCE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE BOTH A CLEAR PLAN ON THE NEXT STEPS LEADING TO A CONFERENCE AND SOME AGREEMENT ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE CONTINGENCY OF NEGATIVE RESPONSES FROM THE VARIOUS PROSPECTIVE INVITEES. AS AN EXAMPLE, IF MR. SMITH WERE TO POSIT UNACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS FOR ATTENDING, WE MIGHT WISH TO SEEK SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT IN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 089720

PERSUADING SMITH TO RECONSIDER -- OR WE MIGHT WISH TO PROCEED WITHOUT HIM. IF THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS PROVE TO BE RELUCTANT, ON THE OTHER HAND, IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO GO BACK TO THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS, POSSIBLY WITH THE POSITION THAT WE ARE WILLING TO HOLD THE CONFERENCE WITHOUT ONE OR TWO INVITED PARTIES, INCLUDING SMITH, BUT CANNOT AGREE TO THE EXCLUSION OF ANY OF THE PARTIES REPRESENTED LAST YEAR IN GENEVA.

G. "A THIRD IMPORTANT TOPIC IS HOW WE PROPOSE TO FACE UP TO THE PROBLEM OF IMPLEMENTING THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, WHICH IS A MATTER OF PRIME CONCERN TO ALL OF THE AFRICANS. OUR GOAL, OBVIOUSLY, IS A CONSTITUTION THAT ALL ACCEPT, AND AS YOU POINTED OUT IN YOUR STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT, NO IMMEDIATE PROGRESS WOULD BE POSSIBLE IF SMITH'S ADMINISTRATION DID NOT ACCEPT IT. THE AFRICAN PARTIES, HOWEVER, ARE CONCERNED AT THE APPARENT VETO THIS GIVES SMITH IN THE PROCEEDINGS. WE NEED TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THIS CONCERN, AND TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT

ROLE THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE EXPECTED TO PLAY IF SMITH REFUSED TO GO ALONG WITH THE RESULTS OF A CONFERENCE. AS YOU KNOW, WE RULE OUT ANY DIRECT U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT AND WOULD WISH TO EXAMINE MOST CAREFULLY ANY PROPOSAL FOR

LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.

H. "YOUR IDEA OF SENDING AN OFFICIAL TEAM TO RESIDE IN SALISBURY FOR A WHILE COULD HAVE MERIT FOR THE PURPOSE OF TESTING SENTIMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY AMONG AFRICANS. UNLESS THIS WERE ACCEPTED IN ADVANCE BY THE NATIONALISTS AND FRONTLINE LEADERS, HOWEVER, WE WOULD BE CONCERNED AT THE POSSIBILITY THAT SUCH A STEP WOULD BE REGARDED AS INDICATIVE OF AN INTENT TO PRESERVE SPECIAL POLITICAL PREROGATIVES FOR THE WHITE COMMUNITY AND PROVIDE LEGITIMACY TO MR. SMITH'S ADMINISTRATION. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY TRUE IF TEAM MEMBERS WERE TO USE SALISBURY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 089720

AS A BASE FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH NATIONALISTS OUTSIDE RHODESIA. WE WOULD THEREFORE WANT TO BE ASSURED ABOUT AFRICAN ATTITUDES BEFORE ASSOCIATING AN AMERICAN WITH THE TEAM OR ESTABLISHING ANY LIAISON ARRANGEMENT OF OUR OWN.

I. "A MAJOR ADVANTAGE OF HAVING A TEAM IN SALISBURY PERHAPS WOULD BE THE POSSIBILITY IT OFFERS TO MAKE VERY CLEAR DIRECTLY TO THE WHITE RHODESIANS THAT THEY CANNOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES COUNT ON U.S. OR BRITISH SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED WHITE RULE, THAT WE CANNOT BE COUNTED UPON TO RESCUE THEM FROM THE RESULTS OF THEIR OWN INTRANSIGENCE, AND THAT, WHILE WE CONTINUE TO ADVOCATE PEACEFUL CHANGE AND RESPECT FOR MINORITY RIGHTS, WE WILL NOT BE PARTY TO ANY ARRANGEMENT THAT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO AFRICAN OPINION INSIDE OR OUTSIDE RHODESIA. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT SHOULD ALREADY BE CLEAR FROM OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS, BUT IF ANY DOUBT REMAINS, WE SHOULD DO OUR UTMOST TO DISPEL IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

J. "FINALLY, LET ME SAY THAT I APPRECIATED THE FACT THAT YOUR PARLIAMENTARY STATEMENT EMPHASIZED THE DEVELOPMENT ASPECTS OF WHAT WE CALL THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, FOR THIS IS ANOTHER POINT ON WHICH WE COULD HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH SOME OF THE AFRICAN PARTIES, NOT TO MENTION SOME OF THE POTENTIAL DONORS. THIS IS A POINT WE HAVE ALSO EMPHASIZED IN OUR CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS, AS THERE WOULD BE LITTLE CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS SIMPLY TO AID WHITE RHODESIANS.

K. "WITH REGARD TO A POSSIBLE MISSION BY THE VICE PRESIDENT, WHICH YOU DISCUSSED WITH RON SPIERS, YOU SHOULD

KNOW THAT SUCH A TRIP HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED. I AM SURE  
YOU UNDERSTAND THAT IT WOULD BE MOST DAMAGING IF THERE  
WERE PUBLIC REFERENCE TO SUCH A POSSIBILITY OR DISCUSSION  
OF IT WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 089720

L. "I WOULD BE PLEASED TO SEND A TEAM TO LONDON FOR TALKS  
NEXT WEEK, IF YOU WISH, OR TO RECEIVE SOMEONE HERE. DAVID  
AARON COULD DISCUSS THIS WITH YOU WHEN HE SEES YOU ON  
FRIDAY.

M. "PLEASE LET ME KNOW HOW YOU THINK WE SHOULD PROCEED.

N. "WITH WARM REGARDS, SINCERELY, CY. UNQUOTE. END TEXT.

VANCE

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NNN

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